1: Titiev, E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

000 If one wishes to understand the process by which the contemporary situation of the Mapuche came into being, it is essential to know some of the salient aspects of their past. For that purpose an effort will be made to provide a historic outline that will include only those events which have had the greatest impact on the development of the tribe's culture.

175 Broadly speaking, Araucanian history may be divided into five parts: a pre-Spanish period before Almagro's arrival in Chile in 1536; the Spanish period, between 1536 and the establishment of the Chilean republic about 1810; the early decades of the republic, between 1810 and 1884; the era of pacification and settlement on reservations, from 1884 to 1917; and the time of the allotment program since 1917, featured by the allocation of land in severalty. It is with the last two periods that this monograph is primarily concerned.

PRE-SPANISH PERIOD, BEFORE 1536

174 Neither historians nor archeologists have yet been able to establish the date when Araucanians first settled in what is now called Chile,[1] nor does any one know the extent of the territory that they originally occupied. Events remain obscure until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Araucanian domain was invaded from the north by the powerful Incas. During the struggle that followed the Mapuche were forced to yield some ground, but they seem to have been successful in establishing a frontier at the Río Maule (Map 1). No doubt the Incas sometimes penetrated far beyond the Maule, and their comings and goings unquestionably affected the lives and customs of the Chilean aborigines, yet it is generally agreed that the Incas met with such stubborn opposition that on the whole "the in-

[1] New light will certainly be shed on this topic when hitherto unpublished reports of excavations in the Cautín Valley become available. According to a note from Lothrop, Mapuche log coffins and unpainted pottery have been found stratified over stone box graves and painted pottery with Inca-influenced patterns.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

fluence of the *Inca* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not appear to have been very profound."[2]

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting.

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bío Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Araucanians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a succinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 696. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1909, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1941a, p. 19.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else reported.[2] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collío in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collío denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *ñuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collío sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete."[3] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[3] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

1: Tübiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

has put forward the most ambitious reconstruction of ancient Araucanian society, it may be postulated that before Spanish contacts gained full force, say prior to 1600, the Araucanians were divided into numerous matrilineal, totemic clans.[8] Unfortunately, Latcham's arguments are not always convincing, and his reasoning tends to be labored, but he has collected enough satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias. Latcham also argued for a general habit of matrilocal residence,[9] an assumption that helps to explain the occurrence of a mother-in-law taboo.

Between about 1600 and 1900, as Latcham suggested, Araucanian society went through a transition from matrilineal to strongly patrilineal forms, coupled with the stringent practice of patrilocal residence. Much of this period, it should be recalled, was devoted to continuous warfare. Against this background Murdock's general remarks on the evolution of social organization are highly appropriate in their application to the specific case of the Mapuche. "Patrilocal residence," said Murdock, "seems to be promoted by any change in culture . . . which significantly enhances the status, importance, and influence of men in relation to the opposite sex. . . . War enhances men's influence and brings them captive (and hence patrilocal) wives and plunder wherewith to buy other women."[10] Murdock also pointed out that "anything which favors polygyny likewise favors the development of patrilocal residence."[11]

Thus, the era of steady fighting may be said to correspond roughly to the phase when Araucanian social organization was most strongly weighted on the masculine side. This was the time when the unilocal, patrilocal household group was the essential unit of society, and when a local chief's status was measured, presumably, in terms of the number of patrilineal

[8] Latcham, 1924, pp. 255-256, *et passim*. Also, see Guevara, 1929, 1: 161 ff.
[9] Latcham, 1924, p. 360.
[10] Murdock, 1949, pp. 206-7.
[11] *Ibid.*

1: Tibbe E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

him he had at his command. These conditions provide the socio-cultural milieu that is most congenial to the Omaha system, for it has already been established that Omaha nomenclature flourishes when a patrilineage is in its most highly developed form.*

There still remains for consideration the question of whether the Araucanians had a clan system at this stage of their history. On this score the literature is particularly baffling, for terms like clan, lineage, and family have been used with such veiled connotations that they are worthless from the viewpoint of precise analysis. A reader can find a tremendous assortment of hints, possibilities, parallels, and suggestions that point to the existence of patrilineal clans,* but he searches in vain for an unequivocal account of Araucanian clanship, past or present. None the less, the absence of clans does not invalidate the existence and functioning of the Omaha system for, as I have maintained, there are times when unilocal household groups may be the exact equivalents of lineages or clans.*

Settlement on reservations, pacification, and the allotment of land in severalty must have had a serious impact on Araucanian social structure. The key to the shifts brought about by changed conditions may well have been the termination of the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, and its replacement by individual, neolocal habitations. Once again Murdock has provided an excellent conceptual framework for this discussion. He has stated that rules of residence are most vulnerable to outside forces and that they are often followed by loss of a clan system and, more slowly, by different descent regulations. Most resistant to change is kinship terminology.

"The development of neolocal residence, in societies following other rules," wrote Murdock in a passage directly relevant to the Araucanians, "appears to be favored by any influence which tends to isolate or to emphasize the individual or the

* White, 1930, pp. 569-70; Murdock, 1949, p. 140.

* Particularly revealing in this respect is the discussion of the *lupu* in Cooper, 1946, pp. 720-23.

* Titiev, 1943, pp. 318-19; 1944, pp. 46-48.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

nuclear family."[30] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[31] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[32] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[33]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[34]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

[30] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.
[32] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[33] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[34] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarriñe, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bío Bío River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarriñe. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarriñe, Antío Paineo, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarriñe about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarriñe divided to form Cautinche. The off-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621
174

spring groups became politically, spatially, and economically detached from the parental settlements, but they established sociological links with one another through the agency of cross-cousin marriage.

To venture just one step further into the realm of hypothesis, there is something in the social composition of the reductions that makes them appear like patrilocal units which are dispersed into a number of multilocal residences. If one imagines a vast roof extending over the entire limits of a reservation, each of them could be viewed as an old-fashioned patrilocal, unilocal residence. In other words, a small reduction, such as Cautinche or Renaco, probably contains much the same association of individuals as would have made up the traditional *loñko's* household and following; and a large reservation like Carrarriñe comprises an aggregation of several such households. In some ways the dynamic process by which new Araucanian communities were formed resembles the kind of segmentation which has been discussed elsewhere in connection with the Hopi and other societies.[12]

Great, indeed, is the contrast between the theoretical organization based on the unilocal practices of the past and the actual state of affairs in the present. Each married man usually lives in his own dwelling, which averages six occupants. Few ties hold together the coresidents of a reservation, and divisive tendencies may be noted on each reduction. Relations between communities likewise tend to be slight, but complete isolation is prevented through contacts brought about primarily by reservation exogamy, school attendance at near-by reductions, and participation in *ñillatuns* and the large assemblies known as *kawiñ* or *trawun*.

[12] Titiev, 1944, pp. 46–48; 1943, pp. 522–30.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

cedrus chilensis). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher intercordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S., whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverría, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear. Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly nonlinguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Peguenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Peguenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Peguenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

mention of the "*Pegüenche*" so doing. And, further, most at least of the "*Pegüenche*" personal and local names he records appear to be *Araucanian* (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 198, 203; 3: 431–38).

The seeming conflict between the evidence from Rosales, Pietas, and Molina on the one hand and that from the "Proceso criminal de 1658" on the other is largely solved if we assume that the "*Pehuenche*" of the last source were not identical with the "*Pegüenche*" of the first three sources. Such an assumption of nonidentity is well within the probabilities in view of the very loose and variant use of this and other tribal denominations in our earlier as well as in our more recent sources. The assumption receives some positive confirmation from the fact that the "*Pegüenche*" chieftains' names mentioned by Rosales as of 1650–53 do not coincide with those recorded by the "Proceso criminal" as of 1658. Nor, seemingly, do the habitats assigned to the two groups coincide. Neither Rosales nor the "Proceso criminal de 1658" gives us very precise data thereupon. But by piecing together the scattered clues in each source, we can infer with reasonable probability that Rosales' *Pegüenche* lived in the high Cordillera flanking what is now central and southern Neuquén Territory from about lat. 38° S. to the neighborhood of Lake Nahuelhuapí (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 176, 198, 211, 269, 468–69; 3: 431), and that the *Pehuenche* of the "Proceso criminal de 1658" occupied territory well north of them, about the latitude (ca. 36° 30′) of Cerro Payén, in the western part of what is now the southern extension of Mendoza Province (Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, pp. 136, 138, 143, 147, 151), and perhaps somewhat east of the main Andean range, since one at least of the *Pehuenche* examined in 1658 testified that he was "natural de Payén" (ibid., 143).

In view of the foregoing evidence (about all we have which bears significantly on our problem, as the cultural and somatological evidence adduced by Latcham is hardly relevant) it would appear somewhat more probable than not that the pre-18th-century piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" of the early Chilean chroniclers were *Araucanian*-speaking. But a definitive solution of the problem, if it is ever reached, will have to await much fuller study of the already published evidence—especially cautious analysis of recorded local and personal names by trained linguists thoroughly competent in the *Araucanian* and Pampean tongues—or the discovery of further pertinent archival documents.

As previously noted, the *Araucanians* did not begin to occupy in any large measure what is now Argentine territory until about the beginning of the 18th century. Thereafter, the main bodies of the migrants tended to keep more toward the Andean foothills and the western half or third of the Pampa from about the Limay to Mendoza Province—a point on which more details will be given in the following section on Tribal Names and Divisions.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change.

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century).

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day.

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century.

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601
●174

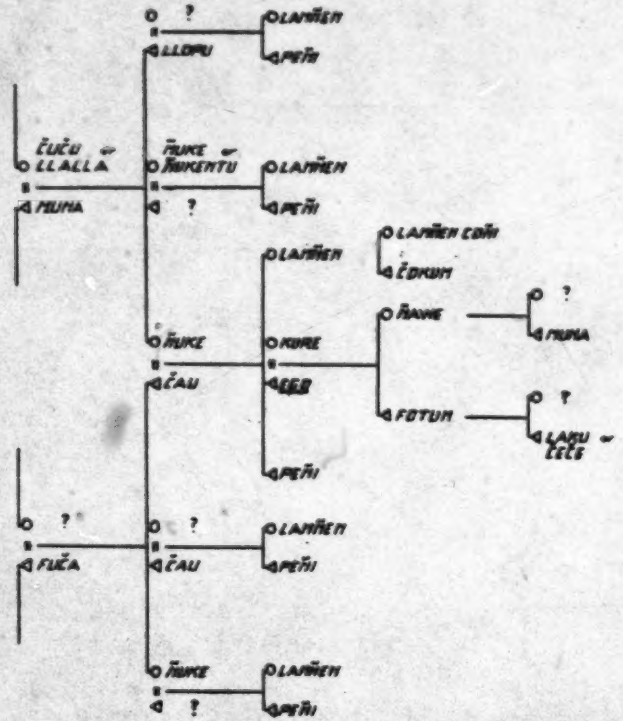

DIAGRAM 1. Mapuche kinship terminology as collected by Valdivia (1606).

tion are listed, and five generations in all are represented. The close agreement of these three lists represented in Diagrams 1 and 2 has been noted by Cooper (1946:724). Nevertheless, a few significant terminological changes were important and will be discussed below. The kinship data, as well as other descriptive material, show that certain aspects of kinship associated with patrilineal organization were in evidence at least as early as Luis de Valdivia's recording of them, that is, before 1606.

On Ego's generation parallel- and cross-cousins are classed with siblings in Diagrams 1 and 2. Modifiers were used (as they are today) to differentiate "cousins" from Ego's siblings when specificity was desired. A similar device served to distinguish own father and mother from FaBr, MoSi, and stepparents (who seem often to have been FaBr or MoSi).[2] Prefixes were employed to differentiate older and younger brothers and sisters: e.g., *yunan* and *ynan peñi/lamñen*. This is also encountered today. Another manner of more descriptive expression was circumlocution.[3]

It is evident from Diagrams 1 and 2 that in the handling of cousin terms the system does not yet show Omaha features. MoBrCh are not called "uncle"

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601
174

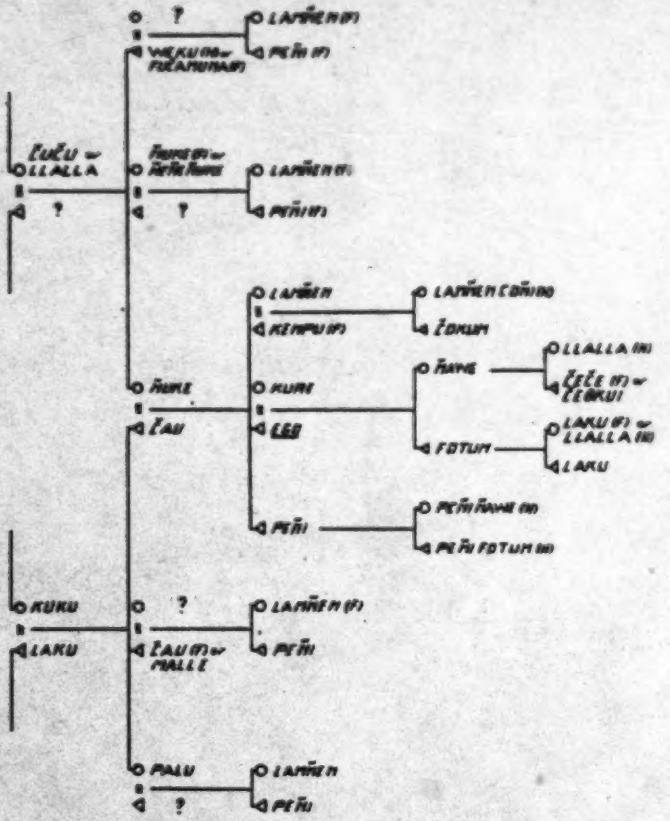

DIAGRAM 2. Composite kinship terminology of Mapuche, based upon Febrés (F) and Havestadt (H). Unmarked terms from both sources.

and "mother," for example. There is no break in the generation principle on Ego's age level. The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations (Diagram 2) is, however, a departure from this principle and remains a special feature of the system today. However, judging from in-law terms recorded by Febrés, generation was terminologically disregarded between Ego and his wife's siblings and parents after marriage. Ego called WiSi and WiFaSi by a wife derivative (*kurun*); and WiFa, WiFaBr, and WiBr by an identical term (*keñpu*). There seems to be no description of such cross-generational marriages having taken place. However, because of the vagueness of chronicle reports regarding marriage and incest, the possibility, as reflected in the kinship terms, is not excluded.

On the first ascending generation the merging tendency apparent in

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601
174

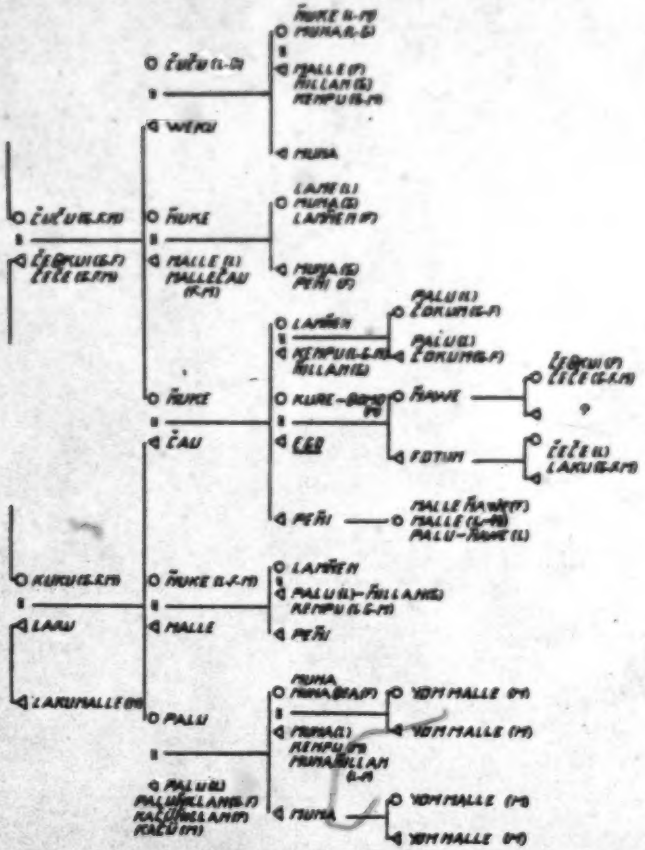

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautín Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as step-mother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

595
601
611
174
[591]

There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124: Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5]

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946; 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*ñuwa*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate.

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the leviratical obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed.

8: Faron E-5 (195) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh haveremained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested hat BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g. *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used oday for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and throughwhom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been avariant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination o *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have ben recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Lacham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman alled her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended he term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the Fsi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also alled *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 591 601 It was stated above thatwhile no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests tha FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact vith Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish ettlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in clos juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no doubt that these farming goups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and tha they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

[476]

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationslip between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucnian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntuku* (i.e. taking *kurun*).

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed.

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them.

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point.

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *θomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence.

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region.

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "pseu-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

611
●174
601

do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

NOTES

122

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

736

[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

they now believed him—they saw his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the now sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar.—Andrés Llanlaf was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same one; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him lead these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Mehuin, Crucis, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Tromen Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Caburgua, Calafquén, Pelaifa, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirehueico. From nearly all parts of the provinces snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetropillán (7,740 feet), Shoshuenco (7,740 feet), and Lanín (12,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean au-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
594 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
596 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to
[127] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
592 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
624 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage.

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries.

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordinariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational membership, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun asume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because